2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people in almost every respect since early times, yet there are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men consisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

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627 The punishment of minor offences and recognized
692 crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

622 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the
627 people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless
[623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in
562 very remote times, and in very small villages, the
593 chief authority was naturally vested in the head of
[184] the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce
[586 any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He
428] could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER IX

IN THE HOME OF CHIEF PENRI

When at Piratori I always used to stay in the home 622
of Chief Penri and his wife. While there I got a great deal of information from him. He was acting chief of that place, the old hereditary one having died. In studying him I came to the conclusion that the principal requisites of an Ainu chief were a strong, burly frame, a powerful arm, a fierce eye, a ready wit, and a big voice with which to give his commands. And he assuredly possessed these requisites in a marked degree. I have often seen the children of Piratori flee [593] ●
before his fiery eye and bellowing voice, almost scared out of their wits when he has suddenly caught them peeping at me through the door, windows or openings of the reed thatch of his home. I have stayed many months with him in his abode and seen numerous little displays of the art of ruling as practised by him. Woe betide the one who failed to do his bidding!

Having arrived at his place, for the first time, I 114
at once engaged him as my teacher of Ainu, and I 115
must say that I found him very quick at finding out just what one wanted to get at. Yet every now and again we would both lose patience and then sit and glare at each other. When this happened we would start off into the hills for a stroll and I would take my lesson so. It was during one of these strolls that 117
I gained my spurs as a crack shot. It came about thus. As we were walking along under the trees, the chief pointed to a carrion crow sitting on a branch just ahead of us. These birds are inveterate chicken stealers and do great harm in the gardens, so he asked

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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was searching for young sparrows. It looked very uncanny to see the reptile turning and twisting about in his progress, and I expected every moment to see him tumble down to the floor of the hut. Perhaps he was the mate of the one I had killed. Penri, who hated and feared such creatures, gave a frightened scream and stared above him in terror. I knew the old man had a long Japanese spear lying along the beams of his dwelling, and so the first thing I did was to grasp this weapon, take off its sheath and transfix the reptile with the sharp blade. Having killed him, I carried him out of the house and threw him away. But on coming in again, I found the chief full of indignation because I had killed the snake with his spear! He angrily told me that I might keep that spear, for, as it had killed a demon, he would have it no longer. "It is yours now and not mine," he said. I thought it was very kind of him to give it me, but after all it was fear, and not good will, which prompted him to do so. He was afraid, as I well know now, that the snake might retaliate for what had been done to him, but now, as it was my spear which had done the deed and not his, the vengeance would fall on me and not on him! This may sound very strange, but legends will appear as we go on which will show that such are common ideas among the Ainu people.

Chief Penri had his ancient mother living with him, and a veritable old hag she was. If I looked at her she always turned her back on me, and when it was quite necessary for her to face me it was always with a very savage, fierce eye and black scowl. If Mr. Black-Lily's wife was anything like her, I am not surprised at his not wanting to meet her hereafter. One face like that would surely spoil everything. If she thought her son was too communicative with me, she would show him such a malicious expression of face and give vent to such angry words that he would ask to be allowed to take a rest, and so we would go out and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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finish our lesson walking about. As for the younger Mrs. Penri, the old witch would treat her as though she were dirt beneath her feet. It was not a happy family. No wonder the chief's former wife took her own life!

I began to wonder what I could do to appease her and make her treat me with more respect and good will, and I hit upon this plan, for I must either do something or change my lodgings and so lose a good teacher. I got up early one morning and, walking fifteen miles to a Japanese shop, bought a pound of tobacco and a pound of brown sugar. On returning with these, I began by giving her small doles of each. In a very few days we were the best of friends and I gained many a smile. All went smoothly after this. Although she would occasionally act like a testy child and give way to rampaging crossness, yet on the whole, peace reigned in the family and all went well, though, when eating, she always turned her back to us.

After being with Chief Penri for some time, I asked him if he could not put me up a small room to sleep in. Just one corner of his abode would do, only it must have a board floor for me to take my rest on. He soon got another old man to help him and the pair of them forthwith made me a place. When finished it measured six feet by nine. I caused them to put a ceiling to it to keep the soot off, and earwigs and other vermin from falling on me from the thatch with which the roof was covered. But sleeping on the floor in this place was far worse than on the raised platform I had used in the open hut, for the new place at once became a playground for the rats which trooped in and took their exercise there. I often felt them during the night chasing one another over my body. At my request the chief therefore set up rat traps about my person, in which we caught not a few. Vermin were a great pest when I came first to Ainu-land.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair.

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to perpetuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *sare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two.

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been already noticed, and that the various wives lived in separate dwellings and that these females were often not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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593 a quarrel with any of the others, she used to go to
595 bed after it and stay there two or three whole days, so that I just had to look after myself and cook my own millet and potatoes. But she would come creeping out of her sleeping place, beaming with smiles, in the end, and all would be well till the next set-to.

562 The men desired a son very much, and the chief reasons for this were firstly, that he might act as family priest when the father died; secondly, that he might inherit, preserve and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures; and thirdly, that he might act as head of the family and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof. The women desired a girl or two, that there might be someone to assist in cooking, drawing water, getting wood and working in the gardens; and also to help in preparing the bark for making clothes and so on, but especially have I heard them say that they want girls so as to have someone to look after them when they grow old.

586 Release from the matrimonial bond was easy of accomplishment. Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were: incompatibility of temper; want of love between the two; disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the nut supplied with fuel and the pot with vegetables; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. But, inasmuch as the wife considered it her duty to keep the husband and work for him, she very seldom failed to have plenty of vegetable food and fuel. But if she grew to dislike him and he failed to bring home fish or bear's meat or venison for the larder, she would simply return to her parents and so dissolve the relationship. When a man sent his wife away, he made her
[431] a present through her parents, and that closed the case. When there was any issue, the father took the boys and the mother the girls.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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sometimes some beads or earrings, or a sword-guard. Such things were greatly prized and carefully put away.

As I came to know the people and their language better, I found that some of them had not very nice names, while others were all that could be desired. Bright, Graceful, The Beauty, Cheerful-face, Peace of Heaven, Grace of God, Bird-mouth, Deer-catcher and such like names were all very well, but I could not say much for Pot-belly, Big-eyes, Saucepan, Chop-sticks, Sooty, Filthy, Rubbish and so forth. But one could not perhaps wonder, seeing how difficult it was to make well-meaning and euphonious brand-new names for every one of them!

During all the time I was with the chief I never once heard Mrs. Penri mention her husband's name. She never on any occasion called him by it. Nor did we ever hear our servants do so to each other, either. To Penri, the wife was always Orosia, but never once did she ever address him as Penri. The special lore concerning this point is as follows: "The wife should not pronounce her husband's name, for the bare fact of mentioning it aloud is equal to killing him, for it takes somewhat away from his life. Women should therefore be very careful in this matter." When speaking of her husband, a woman uses such terms as these: "My Ainu," "My man," "My person," "The head of the hearth," "He who has bound me," "Floor," "So-and So's father," and, at times, though rarely, "My husband." Thus the husband's name may not be "taken in vain."

Continuing to speak on this matter, the Chief said, "It is the special duty of men to worship the gods, while the women must not presume to pray. When the people are sick, it matters not whether they be old or young, male or female, the men should without fail draw nigh to the deities and do worship. The husband, as head of the house, is the one who should

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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593 551 approach the gods when their help is required. The wives should therefore treat them with great respect, and should hold them in high esteem. They may not heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth their strong superiors and supports. They stand between them and the gods. This teaching came down from the divine Aeoina and is strictly to be obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but a great dishonour to the gods also. It is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this command." But I would ask the reader to remember that I am writing of matters as I found them many years ago. The difficulties heretofore mentioned have now almost passed away, and most of the children receive [177] Japanese names. All have surnames, which has simplified matters considerably.

551 It was but yesterday that I heard our Ainu maid servant call herself "otter head." It was because she had forgotten something we asked her to do. The name carried me back in thought some 40 years to the time I first heard it and was told the allusion. I thought the designation was defunct, but, behold, there it was as full of life and meaning as ever. The otter is supposed to have an exceedingly bad memory, and part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:

539 825 "The river otter was sent down by the Creator to make clothing for the foxes. He was told that it was to be red. But he had such a bad memory that he quite forgot what colour it should have been and so painted them white! Hence foxes were, when first seen by the Ainu, all white and not red, as most of them now are. Mr. Fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of carelessness and severely scolded the otter for his neglect of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit his taste. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, Mr. Otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon, took out its roe. He then asked Mr. Reynard to lie

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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431 to set to on them at once. These nuts are used for food
262 by this people, and very sweet they are to a hungry man. One of the favourite ways of preparing them is
252 to boil them, then take off their jackets and pound the fruit into a paste, then reboil and mix it well up with millet or rice. It was considered a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon and boil them together. But this concoction adheres so tenaciously to the teeth and gums that one cannot get along without a good, strong tooth-pick. Being fond of chestnuts, I ate up my little present with gusto. But after that, I never again accepted peeled, boiled chestnuts, for I saw afterwards that the women and children took the jackets off them with their teeth! I preferred mine with their coats on, for this appeared to me to be the more hygienic way.

492 While on this journey it was necessary to cross a deep river in a ferry barge. The horse I was riding was a very stubborn one and utterly refused to enter it. The master of the barge told me to remount and jump him in, which I did without accident. But, alas, when about half way across, the brute jumped over the side, carrying me and all my baggage with him. My horse, baggage, and I went well under water at first, but at last reached the other side safely. While my clothes were drying, I asked the Japanese landlady
[495] at whose inn we had immediately put up, to get me something to eat. Some time later, a nice little bird was brought me to feast upon, which I took to be a woodcock. Having eaten it up with relish, I was told by the boy who waited on me that it was not a woodcock, as I supposed, but a little chicken which got sick and had died the day before!

● 593 As we were passing through a certain village, a
578 woman rushed out of her house and asked me to step in and flog her husband! "But why?" I asked. "What has he been doing now?" Said she, "He is in-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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toxicated and has been knocking me about. Please come and beat him for me!" I did not like this request, but went in with her to have a look at him. It was indeeed true that he was drunk, and when I told him I had been requested by his beloved wife to flog him for knocking her about, he seemed to think that I ought to do so. Indeed, he began to prepare himself by offering me his back. Seeing this, his spouse exclaimed quickly, "Don't whip him, poor fellow! Of course he may get drunk sometimes, and, after all, he has a perfect right to flog me when he feels like it. Am I not his wife?" And so the matter closed. This is just one sample of my journeyings among the Ainu half a century ago.

593 578

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance, if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [150] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

everything, whether she is right or wrong; she is occasionally beaten; she never takes active part in any of her husband's Bacchanalian revels; but though she leads a sad kind of life, a life of hard work and no pleasure, she does not seem to be any the worse for it. There are wives, of course, who, as in other countries, give a "pretty rough time" to their husbands; but in the Ainu country these are certainly the exception. As there is no ceremony of marriage, there is naturally no "divorce;" but if an Ainu gets sick of his wife, all he has to do is to leave her and go elsewhere, or else to banish her from his hut. This, however, very seldom happens, for that rare creature the henpecked Ainu husband is willing to put up with a lot; and though brave enough to encounter single-handed a bear, the hairy man is by no means valiant enough to face his wife's temper; while, for all that she is practically a slave, and personally an inferior, is sometimes in Ainuland, as everywhere else, the strongest factor in the domestic sum.

As long as the wife does her duty well as a "beast of burden," little more is required from her. Her morals, as far as I could make out, are not well looked after. Adultery is not considered a crime. I do not mean by this that adultery is practised on principle, for it is not so: there is no reason whatever why it should be, for each man has his own wife or wives; but if adultery were practised by any members of a community, what we consider a dreadful crime would be regarded as a mere "joke" among the hairy people. The husband, like any other animal, dumb or not, would naturally resent the intrusion, but the community would in no way interfere, or punish the offender. A girl is considered fit to be married when she is about sixteen years of age; a man about twenty, or as soon as the body is fully developed.

People as a rule marry in the same village. It is but seldom that a girl marries a man or a man a girl of a different village. Villages, as we have seen, are generally composed of only a few houses, and the result of this strict endogamy is, that marriages take place among very near relations. In very small villages of only one or two houses, the father has been known to marry his own daughter, the uncle his own niece, &c. But enough of this. The result of this dreadful state of affairs is, that the race is rapidly dying

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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First and second cousins, if parallel, used sibling terms for one another in both reference and address.[8]

8 *yupi*: elder brother, elder first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's elder brother, elder sister's husband, spouse's elder sister's husband. This and the following sibling terms were employed only in address.

9 *aki*: younger brother, younger first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's younger brother, younger sister's husband, spouse's younger sister's husband.

10 *sapo*: elder sister, elder first and second female parallel cousin, spouse's elder sister, elder brother's wife, spouse's elder brother's wife.

11 *matapa* (or *matippe* or *turesh*): younger sister (male speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (male speaking), wife's younger sister, younger brother's wife (male speaking), wife's younger brother's wife.

12 *mataki*: younger sister (female speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (female speaking), husband's younger sister, younger brother's wife (female speaking), husband's younger brother's wife.

13 *utata irwak* (or *shine irwak esap utari*): parallel cousin. Patrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, *shine onaha esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine onaha esap ir-utar*, *shine onaha epeka utar*, and *onaha epeka it-irwak*. The first term, as well as *kanna samma ir-utar* and *kanna samma ir irwak*, also had the meaning of patrilateral second parallel cousin.
Matrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuhu esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine unuhu esap ir-utar*, *shine unuhu epeka utar*, *unuhu epeka ir-irwak*, and *mat sammani ir-irwak*. The first of these terms, together with *popke samma u-ir-kar* and *popke samma ir-irwak*, also had the meaning of matrilateral second parallel cousin.

14 *onaha epeka irwak ne utar* (or *onaha epeka apanu utar*): patrilateral cross-cousin.

15 *unuhu epeka irwak ne utar* (or *unuhu epeka apanu utar*): matrilateral cross-cousin.

16 *po* (or *ku-poko*): son, stepson, or foster son (used in address and during childhood only). When a son had grown up, he was addressed by his given name. Sugiura (1954) does not report terms of reference for son or daughter, but he does state that stepchildren and foster children were called by the same terms as own children.

17 *matne-po* (or *ku-matne poko*): daughter, stepdaughter, or foster daughter (used in address and during childhood only). When a daughter became adult, she was addressed by her given name.

18 *karku*: nephew, i.e., son of a brother, of a sister, or of a parallel cousin.

19 *matkarku*: niece, i.e., daughter of a sibling or parallel cousin.

20 *mitpo*: grandchild of either sex.

21 *san-mitpo*: great-grandchild.

22 *koku* (or *kokuku*): husband (in reference only). In address, a woman called her husband *tan-kur* (this person), *toan-kur* (that person), or *ku-kor-nishpa* (master).

23 *machi* (or *machiki*): wife (in reference only). A husband addressed his wife by her given name, but in old age might call her *ku-kor-menoko*, *ku-kor-machi*, or *ku-kor-machiki*. A person of either sex might also refer to his or her spouse as *ku ustonep*, *kekote-kur*, or *uomnu-kar*. A term of respect for someone else's wife was *a-kor-kaikemat*, meaning "your lady."

24 *shiuto a-kispo* (or *shiuto ekashi*): father-in-law. *Shiuto* is the Japanese term for father-in-law.

25 *shiuto unarpe* (or *shiuto kuchi*): mother-in-law.

26 *kokou* (or *ku-kokouve*): son-in-law.

27 *koshmat* (or *ku-koshmachi*): daughter-in-law.

In this terminological structure three major themes can be discerned. The first is the stress placed on the sibling relationship, as may be observed in the usages of various kinship terms. For example, the reference term *irwak* was extended from "brothers (male speaking)" in the narrowest sense to "sisters (female speaking)" and then to cousins. Similarly, address terms for siblings (*yupi*, *aki*, etc.) were also extended to cousins and to many categories of affinals

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patrilateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine huchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *huchi ikir*.

Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
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At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them.

342 273 [126] [535]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes.

342 372 796

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had

342 372 796 782 [593] [604]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight.

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Funeral Food

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With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

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As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle.

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The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M.

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7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

● [593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [422] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

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wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

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Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the follow- 178
ing funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 291
inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over
the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted.
Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593]
of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned 765
the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one
outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 178
clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). 291
A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of
years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged
Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302]
men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men
seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level
of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed.
Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292]
cap (*chish kouji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled
and sewn on one side.

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844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first [593] [604] [602] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 757 [824] To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the [237] [824] belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 [782] [769] [539] The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grandmothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

[p.43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles
476 of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic
593 species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathering activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or
224 simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the
476 bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category
[602] of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. 16) and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.
[555]

476 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single
621 cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1, [Errata: the word "food-gathersng" should read "food-
4 gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]